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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
SEVEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIFTH MEETINGHeld at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 17 December 1987, at 3.30 p.m.President: Mr. BELONOGOV

(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

Members: Argentina
Bulgaria
China
Congo
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Italy
Japan
United Arab Emirates
United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland
United States of America
Venezuela
Zambia

Mr. DELPECH
Mr. TSVETKOV
Mr. LI Luye
Mr. ADOUKI
Mr. BLANC
Count YORK von WARTENBURG
Mr. DUMEVI
Mr. BUCCI
Mr. KIKUCHI
Mr. AL-SHAALI

Sir Crispin TICKELL
Mr. OKUN
Mr. AGUILAR
Mr. ZUZE

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The meeting was called to order at 4.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

LETTER DATED 11 DECEMBER 1987 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF DEMOCRATIC YEMEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/19333)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings on this item, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Bahrain, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Yemen and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Al-Shakar (Bahrain), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Gharekhan (India), Mr. Mahallati (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Kittani (Iraq), Mr. Netanyahu (Israel), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Shah Nawaz (Pakistan), Mr. Al-Kawari (Qatar), Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Masri (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Ghezal (Tunisia), Mr. Basendwah (Yemen), and Mr. Pejic (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Morocco, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Dost (Afghanistan), Mr. Zapotocky (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Hücke (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Slaoui (Morocco), Mr. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Ms. Nguyen Binh Thanh (Viet Nam) and Mr. Punungwe (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them the text of a draft resolution sponsored by Argentina, Congo, Ghana, the United Arab Emirates and Zambia, contained in document S/19352.

The first speaker is the representative of Tunisia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. GHEZAL (Tunisia) (interpretation from Arabic): As this is the first time I have addressed the Security Council in my capacity as Permanent Representative of the Republic of Tunisia, it gives me pleasure at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. We are confident that your well known ability and expertise, as well as the prestige of your country - with which my country enjoys relations of friendship and co-operation - will guarantee success in the noble tasks before you.

I wish also to convey to your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Kiyooki Kikuchi, Permanent Representative of Japan, my delegation's appreciation for the knowledge and ability he displayed during his presidency of the Council in November.

I thank the Council and all its members for permitting me to participate in its discussion of the item on its agenda, "The situation in the occupied Arab territories".

For the past 10 days the world's mass media and official reports have carried news about the painful events taking place in the occupied Arab territories - the Gaza Strip and the West Bank - and the frenzied campaign of oppression and killing carried out by the Israeli occupation authorities against the women and the children, the elderly and the youth of the Palestinian people.

For the past 10 days the occupation authorities have been called upon to cease their intimidation and murder of the inhabitants of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. I would be remiss if I failed to mention in this regard the United States Administration's call to the Israeli authorities, issued last Tuesday, 15 December. That indicates the degree of violence and the gravity of the arbitrary campaign being carried out by the Israeli occupation authorities.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

The Security Council has been meeting for nearly a week to consider the recent bloody events in the occupied Arab territories, thereby shouldering its important responsibility as guardian of international peace and security. But, in keeping with their well known practice, the Israeli occupation authorities could not care less about this, and have continued to inflict their injustices. Moreover, they intensify daily their use of armed violence to persecute Palestinian Arab citizens in their own usurped homeland who are expressing their rejection of colonial hegemony and foreign domination.

Every day we hear of new victims, new deaths caused by the bullets of the Israeli occupation forces and the other violent practices they persist in employing. For example, on the single day of Tuesday, 15 December, the death toll among Palestinians was 10. Yesterday it was reported that a two-day-old Palestinian baby girl was killed and another Palestinian girl had her head smashed with a rifle-butt. Such grave, bloody events are carried out by foreign occupation authorities against a defenceless people, whose lands they have usurped, on whose dignity they tread, and whose legitimate rights in its own homeland they have denied, all in violation of international law and instruments, and riding roughshod over the Charter of the United Nations and the fourth Geneva Convention, which was intended to protect the rights of civilians and to prevent occupying authorities from carrying out oppression and repression at will. Tunisia has suffered the scourge of colonialism and has been the victim of treacherous aggression; we therefore know well the dimensions of the tragedy of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

Based on its commitment to the noble principles on which the United Nations was established, Tunisia deplores the bloody arbitrary practices pursued by the Israeli occupation authorities against the people in the occupied Arab territories. Those practices will not break the will of those people in resisting the aggressor and in regaining their dignity, homelands and freedom.

One may properly ask the following questions: What is to be expected of a people a third of whose land has been confiscated by force and oppression, land that has become a settlement for strangers brought from all parts of the world? What is to be expected from citizens who are threatened every moment by deportation from the land of their fathers and forefathers and who daily suffer humiliation and degradation? Are they expected to yield and surrender? But even more, are they expected to sing the praises of the aggressor, the usurper?

The anger of the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, like that of the rest of the people in the occupied Arab territories, is natural and inevitable. Their uprising is a reflection of normal behaviour - the reaction of all peoples of the world to unbearable foreign domination and injustice. In this case, the suffering and hardship afflicting the Palestinian people have become unbearable.

If the oppressor were to renounce its arrogance, it could learn from the lessons and examples of modern history. It is useless to analyse the uprising of the Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories by linking it to instigation by the PLO from outside the territories. It is useless to minimize the seriousness of the situation in those occupied Arab territories and to cast doubt over the will and determination of the Palestinian people to rid itself of humiliation and colonialism. The PLO is not foreign to the rest of the Palestinian people. The PLO is its political leadership and its sole, legitimate

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

representative. Has anyone the right to claim that, unless pressured from outside, the Palestinian people would not lift a finger in its territories when its land is usurped and seized by force, when its homes are destroyed and its future prospects become bleak and when it is constantly subjected to deportation and homelessness outside its homeland?

People will not surrender their legitimate rights to their homeland, no matter what the outside pressure may be, and will continue to struggle for the exercise of that right, however long it may take. They will not be discouraged in their demands or in their struggle, no matter how cruel the violence and oppression. Modern history is replete with examples of such cases. If anyone claims that he cannot forget after 2,000 years, how can his arrogance allow him to expect the Palestinian people to forget and to abandon its homeland after 20 or even 40 years?

We have witnessed different colonial authorities in Africa and Asia who claimed that they were on the verge of totally eliminating and destroying the will of the people. But the development of events demonstrated that the truth was the exact opposite. As long as colonial violence and oppression are to no avail, wisdom dictates that those methods should be abandoned and that the hardships of the Palestinian people should be ended so as to restore peace and security on a lasting basis.

The uninterrupted silence characteristic of the international community's reaction to the injustice inflicted upon the Palestinian people for 40 years has only led the Israeli occupation authorities to persist in their arrogance. Therefore, in view of the gravity of the situation in the occupied Arab territories, the Security Council must take appropriate measures to put an end to those acts of violence, torture and killing. We call upon this body, in view of its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security and of its historic responsibility towards the Palestinian people in particular,

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

to act promptly and firmly to prevent a recurrence of this wave of bloody arbitrariness against the inhabitants of the Gaza Strip, the West Bank and the occupied Quds. The Council can do this by treating the cause of the disease, namely, the foreign occupation and the violation of the rights of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

The appropriate way is the peaceful one called for by the Arab world and the PLO at the 1982 Fez Arab Summit Conference through the Arab initiative known as the Fez peace plan; and according to the Arab initiative of the Amman Extraordinary Arab Conference, which called for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East - as has been called for by the United Nations as well.

The fact that the Arab Group turned to the Security Council affirms the Group's commitment to international legitimacy; and the fact that the Palestinian people resorted to the United Nations means that it submitted its case to international conscience and justice. Thus the Palestinian people chose peaceful means to deter the brutal occupation forces, to arrive at a just and lasting solution of its question, and to regain its legitimate inalienable rights to self-determination and the establishment of its own independent State on its own soil. Those rights were adopted by the United Nations 40 years ago.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Tunisia for the kind words he addressed to my country and to me personally.

Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): It is a pleasure for me to convey to you, Comrade, the sincere congratulations of the Bulgarian delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. I am especially pleased since you represent a country with which Bulgaria has fraternal ties of friendship, mutual aid and co-operation in all possible areas.

It is an extremely fortunate coincidence that you have taken over the presidency of the Council at a time when your country and the United States have concluded an agreement of historic importance not only for your two great countries but also for the well-being of all mankind.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

Your distinguished qualities as a seasoned diplomat guarantee that the work of the Security Council will be successful.

I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Japan, Ambassador Kukuchi, for the effective way in which he conducted the Council's work last month.

The Bulgarian delegation fully shares the deep concern expressed by delegations which have spoken before me in the wake of recent events in the Middle East. The news reaching us lately about a series of particularly dangerous, bloody incidents and demonstrations that have caused a number of fatalities and many casualties among the innocent local Palestinian population are the latest evidence of the tragedy which the Palestinian people has been suffering for years. It is generally acknowledged that those incidents are a natural and legitimate reaction on the part of the Palestinians against the repressive policies and practices of the Israeli occupier.

The international community's deep concern stems, above all, from the fact that this may be one of the most serious and persistent incidents in the occupied territories during recent years. We have seen an extremely dangerous escalation of tension in that part of the world, where any incident may have equally dangerous consequences - indeed, uncontrollable consequences - for peace and security in the Middle East and of the entire world.

That being so, the Bulgarian delegation is convinced that there is an urgent need to undertake as quickly as possible effective steps to end that bloodshed. In this connection, a particular part should be played by this world Organization - above all the Security Council - which bears primary responsibility for the fate of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

I need hardly stress that the vast majority of the States Members of the United Nations have on various occasions clearly and unambiguously condemned the irresponsible acts and practices of the Israeli troops in the occupied Arab territories and have stated that they were in flagrant contradiction with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, the elementary norms of international law, and conventions in force, particularly the fourth Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

The turn of events in the Middle East region, including the matter which we are now discussing, gives irrefutable proof of the urgent need to find a lasting, just and comprehensive solution to the question of the Middle East, one which will end the sufferings of the subjugated Arab population, first and foremost those of the Palestinian people. It must be abundantly clear that it is the failure to solve the Palestinian question which is the origin of the fact that an explosive situation has been persisting in the Middle East for almost 40 years now, and that unless it is settled peace is inconceivable in that part of the world. Any attempt to circumvent this issue or replace it by separate agreements, without at the same time taking into account the interests of the Palestinian people, will lead to a tightening of the knot of problems besetting the region and result in blocking a settlement of the Middle East question.

The vast majority of the States Members of the United Nations are convinced that a Middle East settlement should, first and foremost, be based on Israel's unconditional and total withdrawal from all Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories, as well as the exercise of the inalienable and legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to found its own State.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

The most direct way to achieve that objective is to convene an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations, with the equal participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as well as the permanent members of the Security Council.

We can state without a shadow of doubt that the vast majority of the States Members of the United Nations support that approach. The discussions on this question which were concluded a few days ago in the General Assembly and the resolutions that ensued amply bear this out.

(Mr. Tsvetkov, Bulgaria)

All of that, as well as the tragic events which have occurred in the occupied territories, necessitate the adoption of urgent and effective measures to establish a just and lasting peace in that long-suffering part of the world and to ensure the people of Palestine the opportunity to exercise their inalienable rights, including their right to found a State on their own land.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Bulgaria for the kind words he addressed to my country and to me personally.

The next speaker is the representative of Zambia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ZUZE (Zambia): Let me, on behalf of the Zambian delegation, congratulate you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. Your country and mine are united by a strong bond of friendship attributable, to a large extent, to our deep-rooted belief in the free exercise by all peoples of their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence. As we deliberate on this important subject, under your able and dynamic leadership, we are confident of a successful outcome.

Let me also pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Kikuchi of Japan, for the skilful and excellent manner in which he conducted the work of the Council during the month of November.

The events of the last few days in the occupied Arab territories of Gaza and the West Bank have been a tormenting experience to peace-loving people everywhere. The world has witnessed once again through the media horrifying acts of brutality perpetrated by Israeli forces against the defenceless Palestinians, in contravention of the Geneva Convention which guarantees the protection of the civilian population in occupied territories. We have learned with a deep sense of shock of the murder in cold blood of more than 12 Palestinians by Israel, whose

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

only crime was their cry for a homeland of their own where they could live in peace and dignity and bring up their children into fulfilled adults.

My delegation strongly rejects the acquisition of territory by force. We therefore call on Israel to withdraw unconditionally from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967. Israel should never forget the fact that it was ordained to coexist side by side with a Palestinian State.

There can be no doubt that the question of Palestine is the core of the Middle East conflicts and persistent tension in the area. There will never be peace in the region until the rights of the Palestinians are justly addressed. Brutal force against Palestinians by Israel and its continued refusal to participate in a United Nations-sponsored international conference on the Middle East bears testimony to the fact that it wants to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict not by peaceful means but by the sword. This is an act of self-delusion, because it is clear from the ongoing resistance that no amount of coercion, murder, torture and mass arrests will diminish the quest for freedom and national independence of the Palestinian people. Their resolve to attain their inalienable rights is irrevocable. It is in Israel's own interest that a comprehensive, just and lasting solution be found for the region.

My delegation firmly believes that in order to create an atmosphere conducive to meaningful negotiations for peace in the Middle East, there should be trust and mutual confidence between the warring parties. Israel, as the occupying Power, should demonstrate its seriousness with regard to a negotiated settlement by halting all further Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. It should also commit itself to a total withdrawal from those territories in order to enable the displaced Palestinians to return to their homes and property. Adventuristic policies and practices by Israel in the occupied territories cannot bring peace to

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

that troubled region. Deployment of armed forces against women and children armed only with sticks will only heighten tension and breed mistrust, both of which are perfect recipes for prolonging the civil disobedience now prevailing in the occupied territories.

The present unrest in the occupied territories cannot be viewed in isolation. It results from a deep-rooted sense of frustration and hopelessness. It is a reflection of indignation brought about by the uncertainty of the realization of the rights of the Palestinian people. Israel's adamant refusal to comply with resolutions and decisions of the Security Council on the question of Palestine, in particular resolution 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), has left the oppressed and dispossessed Palestinian people with no alternative but to resort to protests and other methods to free themselves. It is, admittedly, not an easy task for them. It is one that has been imposed on them by the intransigence of Israel and its atrocities perpetrated against the Palestinians. Through their authentic representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Palestinians have expressed their readiness to come to a conference table to discuss peace - peace for themselves and peace for Israel and, indeed, peace for the entire Middle East region. We commend them for their statesmanship and call on Israel to be courageous enough to heed the voice of reason in order that peace and stability may be achieved. Time for negotiations is quickly running out. The sooner the problem is resolved, the better for both sides. In our view, the senseless loss of life in the occupied territories at the hands of the trigger-happy Israeli forces should be condemned in the strongest terms. There should be no equivocation. The Security Council must at this point in time send a strong message to the Israeli authorities - a clear message expressing the outrage of the international community at its insensitive policies and practices in the occupied Arab territories. The

(Mr. Zuze, Zambia)

Security Council should demand an immediate end to the acts of State terrorism. Let us not be bystanders while the Palestinian people suffer under the Israeli reign of terror. The Council must take the necessary measures to ensure that justice and fair play replace the Israeli guns in the occupied territories.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Zambia for the kind words he addressed to my country and to myself.

The next speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

Ms. NGUYEN BINH THANH (Viet Nam): May I at the outset, on behalf of the Vietnamese delegation, congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. I am convinced that your vast personal experience in international affairs as well as the dedication of the Government and people of the Soviet Union to the cause of the Palestinian people and to international peace and security will help to lead our deliberations to great success. I should also like to convey my delegation's appreciation to Ambassador Kikuchi of Japan for the exemplary manner in which he presided over the work of the Council last month.

During the past few days we have witnessed a serious worsening of the situation in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. Hundreds of Palestinians and Arabs have been wounded or killed. Defenceless youths have been hunted and shot in the street, innocent children slaughtered in their schools, the wounded dragged out of their hospital beds. Yet that is not all that has been happening in the occupied territories.

The gravity of the situation has been clearly presented to the Council by Ambassador Terzi of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); Ambassador Sarre, the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People; and many others who have spoken before me. And yesterday further information was furnished by the representative of the PLO. I cannot provide a clearer picture of the situation. However, untold suffering continues to befall the Palestinians and Arabs as the Israeli occupying forces go on unabatedly committing their inhuman, abhorrent crimes.

But why do these innocent and defenceless people have to endure such acts of brutality? The only reason is their aspiration to live like any other human beings

(Ms. Nguyen Binh Thanh, Viet Nam)

in their own freed land. Their only sin has been to demonstrate against the aggressors and oppose the illegal occupation of their homeland.

Israel's record of crimes is certainly not something new. The current developments remind us of its massacres at Sabra and Shatilla. That is also the true record of its 20-year occupation of Arab and Palestinian lands. The condemned barbarity committed by racist South Africa in Soweto finds its equivalent being committed in Gaza and the West Bank these days.

The Security Council has for long been prevented by Israel's supporters from taking concrete and determined actions. It has been these forces that have, through their strategic alliance, provided Israel with all possible support and assistance. All this has made it possible for Israel to continue its inhuman and aggressive policy despite the will of the international community.

This time, therefore, the Security Council must not let the challenge pass without a due response and reaction. This time, the Security Council cannot remain silent or indifferent in the face of the present situation. It must live up to its noble responsibility - that is, to take effective measures to maintain international peace and security, to stay the bloody hands of the criminals and to defend the oppressed, unarmed people. Otherwise, the credibility of this body is bound to be questioned. Any show of passivity or lack of determination by the Council will only give the Israeli aggressors a message of encouragement.

The Security Council should without delay, among other effective measures, impose sanctions against Israel, as stipulated in Chapter VII of the Charter. We urge those who have pursued a negative attitude towards such action by the Council to reconsider their position and meet the demand of the international community. We support the call of the Non-Aligned Movement for the sending by the Security Council of a fact-finding mission to investigate the situation. All

(Ms. Nguyen Binh Thanh, Viet Nam)

possible measures must be taken to help bring about the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Palestinian as well as other Arab territories and an immediate end to Israel's crimes.

The ultimate goal can be achieved only through a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict, the core of which is the Palestinian problem, and through the Palestinian people's exercise of their inalienable rights in their independent homeland. In this regard, and in the light of the present situation, it is ever-more imperative to support the immediate convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO, on an independent and equal footing, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/58 C. The Security Council has a primary responsibility in, and must give an impetus to, the preparations for this Conference - the key to the solution of the question. At present, the only major obstacle to this process is the negative attitude of Israel and its supporters. Concerted international efforts must be exerted now to press for this goal.

My delegation extends the constant and full support of the Government and people of Viet Nam to the Palestinian people in their just struggle under the leadership of their sole, legitimate representative, the PLO.

Despite 20 years of brutal occupation and desperate attempts at annexation, Israel cannot extinguish the flame of national independence and heroism of the Palestinian people. On the contrary, the steadfast struggle of that people has grown in both scope and strength, as has been demonstrated by the spontaneous and widespread recent uprisings throughout the occupied Arab territories. We call on the Security Council to act promptly to support the struggling Palestinian people. We are convinced that that people will achieve final victory.

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Permit me first to welcome you, Sir, to the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your great diplomatic experience, your profound knowledge, your eminent authority and the respect you deservedly enjoy among delegations at the United Nations will undoubtedly permit you to discharge your functions as President of the Council in the best possible way. We express our conviction that under your guidance the Security Council will, in the last month of the year, be able to produce a resolution that will help to improve the critical situation now prevailing in the occupied Arab territories.

I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor in the presidency, the Permanent Representative of Japan, Ambassador Kikuchi, who so successfully conducted the work of the Council last month.

Very little time has passed since the General Assembly had a thorough discussion of the various aspects of the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East. Those matters were also the focus of the attention of the international community when we celebrated the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. The overwhelming majority of speakers on those occasions condemned the aggressive and expansionist policies of Israel in the Middle East. We have indeed witnessed growing support for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination, and the status of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and that support has been reflected in the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. Finally, at the current session of the General Assembly we have heard an even more energetic appeal on the need promptly to convene an International Conference on the Middle East under the aegis of our Organization.

Only three weeks have passed, but the mass media throughout the world have once again been delivering to us reports about tragic events in the occupied Arab

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

territories. It is a secret to no one that in the Arab lands occupied in 1967 there is now brute terror, repression and persecution. As well as engaging in economic blood-letting on the seized lands and unlawfully changing the legal status, demographic structure and historic character of those lands, Israel is systematically pursuing an "iron-fist" policy. As is aptly stated in the report of the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, the occupying Power, Israel, is pursuing that policy

"in an effort to curb popular sentiment and activities in opposition to the occupation and in support of the PLO. Demonstrations and protests which spread throughout the territories ... were met with armed force by Israeli troops on repeated occasions". (A/42/35, para. 22)

Numerous facts that have been given at the present meetings of the Security Council have vividly demonstrated that Israel, the occupying Power, has grossly violated the relevant provisions of international humanitarian law, the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 on the protection of the civilian population of occupied territories.

Naturally, the occupier does not regard the violence and brute terror as an end in itself; it is simply a means to bring the Palestinians to their knees and to annex their lands. That is indicated by the official statements and the actual deeds of the Israeli authorities. We are aware, for example, that today in the Israeli political arena such persons as Mr. Kahane are making declarations that combine religious fanaticism with overt racism towards the Arabs and the Palestinians. Their prescription to resolve the Palestinian issue is the unconditional annexation of the occupied territories.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The issue we are now considering is only a fragment of the overall political picture that has developed recently in the Middle East. While imposing diktat on the occupied territories, Israel is once again encroaching on the land of Lebanon, as we have learned from the telegraph agencies over the last 48 hours.

The situation in the Middle East is extremely difficult, as is indicated by the conclusions of the Secretary-General in his report of 13 November 1987 (S/19249). As we have said, that is also corroborated by these meetings of the Security Council on the question of the situation in the occupied territories.

During the discussions at the current session of the General Assembly, many delegations have referred to the question of Palestine and the need for it to be speedily resolved. The way in which the international community can do so is very clear: on the basis of the global concept formulated at the United Nations through the joint efforts of all Member States to establish a comprehensive, just and durable peace in the Middle East. As reflected in the decisions and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, that concept is that the question of Palestine is the core of the conflict in the Middle East and its just settlement can be achieved only by means of collective efforts on the part of all parties concerned. Such a settlement should include the full withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, enjoyment by the Arab people of Palestine of their inalienable national rights, including the right to self-determination and the creation of their own independent State and, finally, recognition of the right of all the States of the Middle East to live in conditions of peace and security.

In the light of the deteriorating situation in the region, the convening of an International Conference on the Middle East is becoming increasingly essential. At the present time there is simply no alternative to such a Conference. That being

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

so, it is important that we promptly stop talking and start acting by taking practical steps to prepare for that Conference, starting, for example, by carrying out the appropriate preparatory work in the Security Council.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR expresses the hope that the Security Council will take all necessary steps to put an end to the cruel acts of Israel in the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank of the River Jordan. We urgently appeal to the members of the Security Council to do everything they can to establish justice and peace in the Middle East.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Morocco. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SLAOUI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on behalf of the Moroccan delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are convinced that your human and professional qualities will contribute to the success of the Council's work.

We also wish to express our thanks and gratitude to your predecessor, the Ambassador of Japan, Mr. Kikuchi, who presided over the Council with great competence.

Finally, we thank all the members of the Council for allowing us to take part in the debate on a question of considerable importance to the Government of Morocco, namely the situation in the occupied Arab territories.

(Mr. Slaoui, Morocco)

The events in the occupied Arab territories in recent weeks further confirm the urgent need for a just and lasting solution to the tragedy experienced by the Palestinian people for almost 40 years.

How many times have we called in this body for an end to the vicious circle of violence and repression through implementation of the peace plan worked out in Fez in 1981 and endorsed by the whole international community? How many voices have been heard asking that justice be done to a people deprived of the most fundamental human rights and of its legitimate aspirations to dignity and a national life of its own? This intolerable situation has not destroyed the faith of generations of Palestinians or their courage and their determination to have their voice heard and clearly to affirm their claims by all the means available to them.

History teaches us that wanton repression cannot stifle the heart-rending call for justice, nor can it conceal the root causes of the problem - the persistence of an occupation carried out in defiance of the fundamental principles of the Charter and the consistent stand of our Organization in favour of recognition of the rights of all the peoples of the region to an independent national existence, including the right of the Palestinian people to build its own State on the territories under Israeli occupation, including Al-Quds Al-Sharif.

The Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, is duty bound, first, to spare no effort to guarantee the protection of the Palestinian population, particularly by ensuring respect for the humanitarian Geneva Conventions of 1949, which impose specific obligations upon occupation authorities. Secondly, the Council must ensure that these tragic events cannot recur. To that end it is urgent and imperative to

(Mr. Slaoui, Morocco)

get the peace process started again by encouraging the holding of an international conference, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and the permanent members of the Security Council.

The Kingdom of Morocco has consistently called in all international forums for the holding of that peace conference, which is the only way to bring about peaceful coexistence among the peoples of the region and to promote co-operation that is productive and fruitful for all. Is not that the only way to return to a centuries-old - indeed, millenia-old - tradition, which made that land the crucible of the great revealed religions and the cradle of the greatest civilizations in mankind's history?

At this time, when we all feel the impact of the grievous events which are causing such suffering to the Palestinian people, we must avoid giving in to despair and the demons of hatred and violence. That is why my country joins all those who have called for the convening of the peace conference without delay, in order that dialogue may win over confrontation, and law and justice may become realities.

My delegation takes this opportunity to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his constant and tireless efforts to encourage the peace process and seek common ground in order to pave the way for the holding of the international conference.

We also wish to express our gratitude to Ambassador Massamba Sarré of Senegal, who is presiding over the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People with great skill and judgement, thus making an invaluable contribution to the protection of human rights and the cause of peace.

(Mr. Slaoui, Morocco)

More than 40 years after the beginning of the Palestinian tragedy and the inscription of this item on our Organization's agenda, we remain convinced that the Security Council has a fundamental role to play to stop the cycle of violence and destruction by means of specific measures, and thus to pave the way to dialogue and exchange of views, in an atmosphere of calm and respect for the fundamental principles of our Organization.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Morocco for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. HUCKE (German Democratic Republic): Permit me at the outset, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate you, Comrade Ambassador Belonogov, on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of December. I am confident that as a representative of the Soviet Union, which is closely and fraternally linked with my country, you will use all your energy and diplomatic skills to ensure the successful work of this body. In this connection, I wish to express our high appreciation and acknowledgement of the efforts made by the Soviet Union to bring about the Treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles and to express our gratitude to you and the representative of the United States. The conclusion of that Treaty is a stimulant and a mandate to all peace-loving forces to promote the process of genuine disarmament that has been initiated and to make it irreversible.

At the same time, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic congratulates the representative of Japan, Ambassador Kikuchi, on his successful work, marked by great political and diplomatic skills, as President of the Council in November.

(Mr. Hücke, German Democratic
Republic)

Comrade President, permit me to thank you and all the other members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to explain the position of my country on the item under discussion.

(Mr. Hücke, German
Democratic Republic)

The Security Council again has to deal with the exacerbation of the situation in the occupied Arab territories. In his statements the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has clearly shown the background and extent of the new acts of terror. Indeed, those acts, to which children and young people have fallen victim, are another expression of the further escalation of the Israeli policy of aggression and occupation. The German Democratic Republic resolutely condemns that policy, which is aimed at intimidating the Palestinian people and crushing their legitimate liberation struggle.

It has been repeatedly pointed out in this forum that it is precisely that policy which constitutes the main obstacle to a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict, the core of which is the question of Palestine. In disregard of many United Nations decisions, that policy denies the Palestinian people its inalienable rights, above all the right to establish a State of its own. The latest events in the Gaza Strip and other parts of the occupied territories are consistent with the aggressive course of expelling the Palestinian people from their land and property, with the course of land robbery and economic plunder, and with attacks against communal institutions of the Palestinian educational system and against the Palestinian national culture. Through that provocative policy, the Israeli ruling circles are trying to impose their will upon other States and upon the Arab peoples. There can be no doubt that in that policy Israel enjoys unrestricted support from the main imperialist Power.

Nobody can deny that Israeli practices of occupation are further aggravating the already explosive situation in the Middle East region. Not only are they directed against various efforts by States to solve the Middle East problem: they also have negative effects on stability and security in other regions. Therefore it becomes ever more imperative from day to day to increase collective efforts to

(Mr. Hucke, German
Democratic Republic)

bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting peace for all States and peoples in the Middle East, including the Palestinian people. The prerequisites for all this are the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, implementation of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State of its own, as well as implementation of the right of all States of the region to independent existence and development.

Proceeding from that principled position, the German Democratic Republic emphatically advocates the convening of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing. Given the multifaceted and interrelated problems in the region, that conference is the most appropriate way to solve the conflict, and it should be convened without any further delay in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/58 C and other relevant resolutions. The direct preparation of a negotiating mechanism by the Security Council could expedite the process.

That position of the German Democratic Republic is not subject to any tactical fluctuations, but stems from the necessity of settling existing conflicts by exclusively peaceful means, thus contributing to strengthening international peace and security. Hence, it is in full conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and with the desires and hopes of the overwhelming majority of States.

The German Democratic Republic reaffirms before this body that it will continue its solidarity with and support for the Palestinian people and the Arab States. We support the struggle of the Palestinian people and its sole, legitimate

(Mr. Hucke, German
Democratic Republic)

representative, the PLO, for national independence, statehood, peace and social progress.

That is also true of all steps aimed at strengthening the unity and cohesion of the PLO and the Arab States for a peaceful solution in the Middle East. In the future as well, the Palestinian people can rely on the German Democratic Republic.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of the German Democratic Republic for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. BUCCI (Italy): It is a pleasure to take this occasion to convey to you, Sir, the warmest wishes of my delegation and myself on your country's exercise of the presidency for this month. We consider ourselves to be in the hands of a skilled, very active and diligent colleague, one who represents a nation with a great history, the bearer of an ancient wisdom. The Italian delegation will provide you with all the co-operation you may request.

I also extend our appreciation and gratitude to the Japanese delegation for the excellent presidency of Ambassador Kikuchi last month.

Turning to the agenda item the Security Council is examining today, namely the incidents which have taken place in the past few days in the occupied territories, it is frustrating to note that this is not the first time the Council has been called upon to deal with clashes between Palestinians and Israelis. It is not the first time, and it will not be the last time if the parties concerned and the international community are unable to offer valid solutions.

The events that have occurred are but the natural and very predictable consequence of a situation in which the occupying Power and those who are undergoing occupation are compressed in a restricted area. In certain areas - and I am thinking, for example, of the Gaza Strip, where hundreds of thousands of

(Mr. Bucci, Italy)

Palestinians are crowded together with the occupation forces - the situation can only be explosive. It is not surprising, therefore, that incidents which occur in one place tend to spread to others. In other words, after 20 years a situation which unfortunately ends up fostering manifestations of violence has been brought about in the occupied territories.

We condemn the practice of violence, from whatever side it originates. We condemn it even more strongly when it originates with regular army units - that is, when it emanates from the orders of a constituted Government.

In the facts that have been brought to our attention during the debate, no new circumstances have emerged to modify that view. Weapons were used; live ammunition has been used to repress protest by civilians. We cannot find any reason to modify our judgement concerning what happened.

These events all occurred in areas which the Security Council considers as occupied territory to all effects. Therefore, the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War are fully applicable. It is true that the Geneva Convention also recognizes some prerogatives of the occupying Power, but we also learn from history that there are many ways to exercise authority.

(Mr. Bucci, Italy)

The Permanent Representative of Israel has explained to us that the riots are promoted by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Israel uses this premise as the grounds for rejecting the PLO as a possible diplomatic interlocutor. And thus the circuit is closed: dialogue does not take place due to the lack of acceptable parties for negotiations. Thus, force prevails over diplomacy. In these territories, there is no real peace but a mere truce between one episode of violence and the next. The situation is suffered by the people, who have no real alternative, and their patience is strained. It is not necessary to be clairvoyant to see that on these bases there will certainly not be much progress in the solution of the crisis in the Middle East, and particularly the solution of the Palestinian problem, which is at the core of the crisis.

It is time for the Council to confront the real causes of this tragedy in which, on the one hand, a people is dispossessed of its land and even of its history and, on the other hand, the geographic limits of the legitimacy of the State of Israel remain unsettled.

Consistent with its actions in the past, the Security Council has the duty to contribute to finding a solution, including, if possible - as has been said in this debate - the promotion of an international conference.

Without this, we should not harbour illusions: in the end, extremism will prevail on both sides.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Italy for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): First I should like to address to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations, as well as my own, on your acceding to the presidency of the Security Council as Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union. My delegation and I, aware as we are of your professional and

(Mr. Blanc, France)

human qualities, are confident that under your presidency the Council will continue to work, as it has already done, under excellent conditions. I should like to take this opportunity to request the Japanese delegation to be kind enough to convey to Ambassador Kikuchi the appreciation of my delegation for the high degree of competence that he displayed when conducting our work during the month of November.

The French Government views with deep concern the chain of acts of violence on the West Bank and in Gaza. Those tragic events have once again entailed a great loss of human life and caused numerous casualties, particularly among the populations of the occupied territories and the refugee camps.

On 14 December, the French Government stated its deep concern and demanded that Israel respect the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949. On 16 December the spokesman of the French Government recalled that those events could only strengthen France's conviction that dialogue and negotiation were more necessary than ever before.

Profoundly alarmed by the deteriorating situation and the repeated confrontations, France cannot but express its disapproval of this cycle of violence and insist on the duties which should be assumed by Israel under international law. Israel is the occupying Power. Israel is bound to ensure respect for the fourth Geneva Convention, of 12 August 1949, on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War - in other words, to guarantee the protection and safety of those who are living in the occupied territories. It is the duty of our Council to remind Israel of the obligations incumbent upon it in the territories which are still subject to an occupation régime.

Current events have indicated the precariousness of a situation which is in keeping with neither law nor justice. However, beyond the steps which we are

(Mr. Blanc, France)

demanding that Israel take immediately to respect the Geneva Conventions, the United Nations should act in order to produce a comprehensive settlement, which is the only way to create the conditions for a lasting and equitable peace. Today, a large consensus has emerged in favour of convening an international peace conference with the participation of all parties concerned, as well as the permanent members of the Security Council. From the very outset France has given its support to this project, which appears to us to be the most realistic way to settle the conflict, and it is around this project that we call on the members of the Council and the international community to mobilize at a time when a solution is so urgently needed - more than ever before.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of France for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Afghanistan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. DOST (Afghanistan): May I at the outset take this opportunity to express to you, Sir, my delegation's warm felicitations on your assumption of the presidency of the United Nations Security Council for the month of December. You, Sir, represent a great country with which the Republic of Afghanistan enjoys the most cordial and unique relations. It is our conviction that with your able guidance, as a well-known seasoned diplomat with broad experience and excellent skills, the work of the Council during the current month will be crowned with success.

During the past few days the potentially explosive situation in the Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories has further deteriorated, posing a serious threat to peace and security in the entire region of the Middle East. This grave situation is the direct consequence of the brutally repressive acts on the

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

part of the Zionist occupation authorities against defenceless Palestinian and other Arab peoples living under the "iron-fist" policy of Israeli rulers. As the reports by the international mass media indicate, during the past few days Israel has resorted to using tanks and other heavy weaponry against empty-handed Palestinian demonstrators, killing and wounding scores of people, including children. Such uncalled for acts of brutality cannot possibly have a civilized justification.

However, these acts of unjustified violence on the part of Israeli Zionists are not isolated cases. In fact, the present demonstrations of Palestinian youths is a response to a long and shameful Israeli practice of repression in the course of two decades of illegal occupation of Palestinian and other Arab lands.

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

This list, in general terms, includes such acts as collective punishment, demolition of houses over the heads of the people, forcible expulsion of the inhabitants of lands confiscated for the establishment of illegal Israeli settlements, expropriation of properties, killing and injuring defenceless demonstrators and the total disregard of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. To that list one should also add the massacres of Deir Yassin, Kafr Kasim, Sabra and Shatila, which are still fresh in the memory of the Palestinian nation and of all humanity.

A few days ago the General Assembly discussed the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East. The resolutions adopted by the overwhelming majority of the Member States call for, inter alia, an immediate end to Israeli atrocities against Palestinians and other Arab people living in the occupied territories. The Israeli response to that legitimate call of the international community has not been compliance but more acts of violence against Palestinian and other Arab inhabitants of the occupied lands. It would be deplorable if the international community failed to condemn such acts in the strongest possible terms. The Security Council, however, is expected to do more: it is expected to condemn and to act: to adopt the necessary measures to force the Israeli aggressor to comply with the resolutions of the Council and the General Assembly.

In this connection, it is regrettable that the close strategic alliance of one of the permanent members of the Security Council with Israel, namely, the United States of America, has greatly contributed both to Israeli acts of aggression and repression against Palestinian and other Arab peoples and to its complete disregard of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

The present grave situation in the Palestinian and other occupied Arab lands resulting in the loss of life and agony of the people living in those territories

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

is but one of the tragic dimensions of the Palestinian question, which lies at the core of the Middle East problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict. No just comprehensive and durable peace in the sensitive Middle East region is conceivable without the full restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to statehood in its own land. The unconditional and total withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from other Arab territories, including the Syrian Golan Heights, southern Lebanon and Jerusalem, is another prerequisite for the restoration of peace and stability in the Middle East.

The best - and perhaps the only - framework for a just, comprehensive and durable peace in the Middle East has already been outlined by the international community in its call for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations. This is a practical way, which has been supported not only by the General Assembly but also by the Non-Aligned Movement, the Islamic Conference and the League of Arab States. The international community has also been unequivocal about the need for the full participation in the conference of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing and with equal rights. Without the full participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization the international conference will prove meaningless and a failure.

It is regrettable that Israel stands alone in its non-acceptance of the need for the international conference, even in principle, despite the consensus of the international community as a whole. It is our conviction that the Security Council has the responsibility to act on the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and to press for the earliest convening of the international conference.

In the meantime, it is imperative for the Council to act on its own resolutions concerning the applicability of the fourth Geneva Convention Relative

(Mr. Dost, Afghanistan)

to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and to exert every pressure on Israel to comply with the provisions of the Convention with regard to the Palestinian and other Arab peoples living in the occupied territories. We also support the call on the Security Council to take necessary urgent measures to dispatch a special fact-finding mission to investigate the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories and to report to the Council as soon as possible.

In conclusion, allow me to reiterate the full support and solidarity of the people and Government of the Republic of Afghanistan with the legitimate struggle of the heroic Palestinian people under the leadership of their sole, legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Afghanistan for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Czechoslovakia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ZAPOTOCKY (Czechoslovakia): I wish, first of all, to express our pleasure at your presidency of the Security Council for December and to wish you, Comrade, much success in this responsible post. We highly appreciate your personal abilities, knowledge and experience for which you are so well known in the United Nations. We see you as the representative of a fraternal country which lays its entire authority on the scale of development of international co-operation in the interest of strengthening the peace and security of all countries. A tangible manifestation of those efforts was the recent Soviet-United States summit.

May I also take this opportunity to address words of recognition to the Permanent Representative of Japan for exerting commendable endeavours and employing his best abilities for the success of the Security Council's work in November.

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

Only a few days have elapsed since the adoption by an overwhelming majority of States at the forty-second session of the General Assembly of a whole series of resolutions concerning the situation in the Middle East and in the occupied Arab territories, condemning the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories and expressing full support for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Nevertheless, the Security Council has been compelled to convene - as it was one year ago in the case of the shooting at Palestinian students at the Bir Zeit University - to decide on a serious, brutal violation of the rights of the population of the occupied territories.

The situation in the occupied territories is very grave. Protests have reached mass dimensions, demonstrating quite unequivocally that the Palestinian people have not and will never put up with the Israeli occupation and the brutal repression of the occupants. However, Israel is continuing its dangerous play with fire: murders, beating of demonstrators, and raids during which even hospitals are not spared.

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

The situation confirms again with all urgency that the outstanding question of Palestine continues to be the core of the Middle East conflict, no matter how some delegations may attempt to prove the contrary, and that this question requires an undelayed solution. The main cause of the present situation is the persisting Israeli occupation of the Arab territories of Gaza, the West Bank, the Golan Heights, southern Lebanon and also East Jerusalem. Israel occupies those territories by force, controls them by force and again uses force to render impossible the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, primarily the right to self-determination, including the establishment of their own State.

The violence perpetrated by the Israeli occupants on the Palestinians must open the eyes also of those who might perhaps believe that giving support to the invader, tolerating his aggressiveness or seeking separate deals with him could make it possible to achieve peace and stability in the region. As proved by decades of practice, the opposite is true. All steps taken so far in this direction have led only to aggravation of the situation - let us recall only the aggression against Lebanon in 1982 and the unceasing violence and repression against the population of the occupied territories. Therefore, we want with all resoluteness to protest again the repressions launched by the Israeli occupation troops against the population of the West Bank and Gaza. We reaffirm the invariability of our standpoint on the need for an unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the territories occupied since 1967. As we have made clear repeatedly in the course of the current General Assembly session, we fully support the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent State.

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

In this connection, I should like to quote the words of the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustav Husak, contained in his message to the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Yasser Arafat, on the occasion of the recent International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People:

"The nations of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic support the firm struggle led for tens of years by the people of Palestine against the Israeli oppression for their inalienable national and human rights. ...

"I would like to assure you that the people of the socialist Czechoslovakia will keep providing full support to your just struggle ...".

(A/AC.183/PV.148, pp. 83, 84-85)

The question of Palestine constitutes a very serious international problem. Therefore, a settlement must be comprehensive, just and lasting. Such a solution is pursued by the proposal for the convening, under the auspices of the United Nations, of an international conference on peace in the Middle East with the participation of all parties involved in the conflict including, on an equal footing, the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as well as the five permanent members of the Security Council. In this context, I should like to stress that a more imperative call for such a conference than that of the present every day tragedy of the Palestinian people can hardly be imagined. That is why we expect all five permanent members of the Security Council to fulfil with full resolve the mandate conferred upon them by the relevant General Assembly resolutions and to initiate the work of the preparatory committee for the international Middle East conference.

According to the Charter, the Security Council has a primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Therefore, we think that in the present circumstances, which have led to a further escalation of tension in

(Mr. Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia)

the region, it is indispensable for the Security Council to fulfil its obligations under the Charter. It is necessary to condemn the Israeli policies and practices which lead to the violation of human rights and especially to the killing of defenceless Palestinians and to call again upon Israel immediately to abide by the Geneva Convention of 1949. An important role in the implementation of the relevant measures to be adopted by the Council in this respect should be played by the Secretary-General of our Organization. At the same time, it is necessary to continue all efforts of the United Nations to achieve the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all territories occupied since 1967 and to enable the attainment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the establishment of their own State. Only in such a way can peace, security and stability be brought about for all in the region.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Czechoslovakia for the kind words he addressed to my country and to me personally.

The next speaker is the representative of Israel. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. BEIN (Israel): I wish to refer to a draft text unofficially circulated yesterday evening. Israel objects to this text, but I wish in particular to refer to the following. The draft text totally ignores and fails to condemn the PLO acts of terrorism in the area in question, including the murder of Jewish and Arab Israeli citizens, openly claimed by the PLO.

The draft text, in operative paragraphs 1 and 2, places all the responsibility on Israel and condemns only Israel. It is totally one-sided. The draft text, presumably intended to deal with the territories alone, purports in the seventh

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

preambular paragraph to relate to the peace process, once again citing only the policies of Israel that supposedly impede the peaceful solution of the conflict.

Regarding the reference to the fourth Geneva Convention, in operative paragraphs 3 and 4, Israel, whilst it does not recognize its formal application to the territories, has not done anything that contradicts the provisions of the Convention, in particular the humanitarian provisions, which have been implemented by Israel on a de facto basis since 1967. Moreover, Israel has acted to restore law and order, an obligation also recognized by that Convention, in the face of continued calls to intensify violence and riots in the area. The draft text does not make any reference to - or even call for the exercise of - restraint in order to restore peace in the area.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

The sixth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 6 introduce an unprecedented element into the Security Council's consideration of the matter - namely, steps including the appointment of a special representative to report on "measures necessary to ensure safety of and protection for the Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation".

That would serve as a stimulant to further disturbances as a means of politically highlighting the situation in a violent way.

Beyond that, these matters relate to security questions that are the exclusive responsibility of Israel. Israel will not countenance any interference in them, let alone subject them to the polemics we have heard in this debate in the Security Council.

A genuine solution will not be obtained by such one-sided resolutions but only in the framework of a political solution, which can be achieved through direct negotiations based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

Mr. ADOUKI (Congo) (interpretation from French): I take this opportunity, Sir, to congratulate you and tell you how pleased my delegation and I personally are to be working in the Security Council under your presidency in December. In this context, we cannot but welcome and refer with real satisfaction, if only briefly, to the recent trip that a great leader of the Soviet Union, Comrade Gorbachev, recently made to Washington - a trip which led to the signing, with President Reagan, of the United States/Soviet treaty dismantling intermediate-range missiles. That is a very positive initiative which has very opportunely given new life to the dynamics of détente, so indispensable to East-West relations.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

On behalf of my delegation, I also pay a warm tribute to Ambassador Kikuchi of Japan, the President of the Council last month, and thank him for the competent manner in which he fulfilled his task.

The Council has heard an excellent presentation of the present tragic events and developments in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories - especially by the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), first on Friday, 11 December, and then yesterday, 16 December. Also, the media of all countries have convincingly reported the extent of the revolt against the occupier and the denial of the rights of the peoples of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Hence, the Security Council cannot demonstrate selective indignation; rather, it must express firm opposition to all violations of human rights.

The harshness of the continuing occupation, the repression, the widespread violence unleashed against civilians and children - confronting the occupier's modern military arsenal with stones in their hands - have also nurtured the resistance movement. It is to be feared that the groundswell of that resistance will have consequences commensurate with the very distressing conditions in which the Palestinian people continue to live. In such a situation, the occupying Power itself will be submerged - unless the Security Council, with the basic responsibilities incumbent on it, decides to ensure respect, in all circumstances, for the relevant international instruments.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, has been of great concern for a long time now. From 16 June 1986 to 15 June 1987, it was the subject of 30 communications or requests for the convening of the Security Council. The present deterioration of the situation and the tragic developments should not surprise anyone who bears in mind the inalienable rights of all peoples - rights recognized in the Charter and proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

There is an impressive list of the excesses of which the Palestinian people have been the victims and which led to the urgent convening of the Security Council on 11 December last. The representative of the PLO told the Council in his statement yesterday that about 250 cases - with the names of the victims, their addresses, the kinds of wounds, the places where the atrocities had taken place - had now been identified. Hence, is it not high time to reaffirm and ensure the application to the Arab territories occupied by Israel of the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War? Yes, for here the law, the last rampart of the protection of civilians subjected to the horrors of humiliation and death - in a word, of war - has a large role to play. It guarantees a whole fabric of humanitarian rules and machinery for intervening to protect the victims. We are all aware of the burning reality of the present time, with its horrible daily balance sheet of victims. To confront the power of the occupier, it was the general view of the authors that this protection implies, in the first place of course, the prevention of physical or psychological attacks; but it also has a wider goal: the maintenance of the quality and dignity of life, the guaranteeing of humane treatment and a minimum of security. That explains the present importance and role of the Security Council in regard to these tragic times in which the Palestinian people of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank are living.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

The questions of Palestine and the Middle East are the core of this tragedy, and only the International Peace Conference can solve them. The international community is asking for the convening of that Conference; that was the meaning of the decision taken last week by the General Assembly, on the basis of resolution 38/58 C, which clearly states that in order to bring about peace an International Conference must be convened with the participation, on an equal footing and with equal rights, of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

We believe that the United Nations Secretary-General should play an enhanced role in that exercise.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Congo for the kind words he addressed to my country and its leadership.

The next speaker is the representative of Zimbabwe. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. PUNUNGWE (Zimbabwe): I should like to convey to you, Sir, the sincere congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. We are convinced that under your seasoned and esteemed guidance the Council will successfully and effectively discharge the enormous responsibilities that it faces this month.

We wish also to pay tribute to the President of the Council for the month of November, Ambassador Kiyooki Kikuchi of Japan, for the competent and skilful manner in which he guided the Council's work.

Allow me to begin by reading the text of a message sent yesterday by the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, His Excellency Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe, to the Secretary-General regarding the current tragic developments in the Israeli-occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, which are the subject of this debate:

(Mr. Punungwe, Zimbabwe)

"The world is yet again witnessing, with revulsion, the Israeli régime's brutality in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank where over the past week more than 400 Palestinians have been injured or massacred in their homeland by Israeli troops. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is shocked by these atrocities aimed at silencing the Palestinian people from demanding their rights. The whole international community must condemn this act of repression and aggression against innocent and defenceless people, including women and children.

"While the international community, through the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees, is making every effort to provide protection for the Palestinians, the Israeli régime persists in violating the provisions of the Hague Convention of 1907 and the Geneva Convention of 1949 on the Protection of Civilians in Time of War. The recent Israeli atrocities and carnage come barely 12 months after the Ramallah and Bir Zeit University massacres, which were roundly condemned by the United Nations Security Council in 1986.

"On behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, I wish to appeal to you, Mr. Secretary-General, and, through you, to the international community as a whole, to take effective steps to bring to an immediate halt this campaign of terrorism against innocent Palestinians. The international community has an obligation to ensure the protection of the Palestinian people while actively stepping up efforts to convene an International Peace Conference on the Middle East aimed at restoring the full rights of the Palestinians."

We are today witnessing a replay of the pattern of events that occurred around the same time last year in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories,

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including the Holy City of Jerusalem and southern Lebanon. Immediately following the debate at the forty-first session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East, and the adoption of resolutions condemning Israel's continued illegal occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories, this Council was convened to consider the grave situation resulting from the shooting and killing of defenceless and innocent Palestinian students at Bir Zeit university and the massacre of Palestinian men, women and children at Ramallah. Now, again, barely a week after the debate in the Assembly and the adoption of resolutions along the same lines, the Council finds itself addressing a similar situation prevailing in Gaza and the West Bank.

On both occasions the Council has listened in amazement to the representative of Tel Aviv, who attempts to trivialize the issue before the Council, deriding this august body and questioning the appropriateness of its convening to consider the situation created by the Zionist forces in the occupied territories. The other day, during this debate, the representative of Tel Aviv suggested that the time of the Council should be devoted to other things. He has repeatedly referred to his Government as restoring calm and order following demonstrations and protests by students in the occupied territories, and has spoken of definite and systematic provocation by stone-throwing students. He has stated that efforts by his Government to restore law and order cannot be the business of the Security Council. That is the common theme of the numerous interventions by the representative of Tel Aviv before this Council.

We are not surprised by this kind of talk from the Israeli representative. Daily for the past week the media have been carrying reports on how the authorities in Tel Aviv are trying to play down current developments in the occupied territories. From our experiences with numerous situations of a similar nature in

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South Africa, we know that the trivializing of issues is a common tool in the propaganda kits of fascist and racist régimes. The issue here is not merely one of student protests, strikes and the maintenance of law and order. What is before this body is the 20-year-old illegal occupation by Israel of Palestinian and other Arab territories, the creeping annexation of the occupied territories, the Israeli acts of oppression and the atrocities against Palestinian men, women and children. Above all, at the core of the problem is the question of Palestine, the denial of the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights in their homeland.

The demonstrations and student protests are but a manifestation of these serious issues and an expression of Palestinian resistance to oppression by the occupying Power, as well as an expression of the struggle by Palestinians to realize their inalienable rights, which the United Nations has repeatedly reaffirmed in its numerous resolutions. The Israeli response to these demonstrations and the protests by innocent and defenceless young Palestinians has been deliberately to provoke violence and inflict more death and suffering upon the Palestinian people. Last year, on 5 December, a Reuters news item covering developments at Bir Zeit University and Ramallah reported that

"Several left-wing Israeli parties today demanded an urgent parliamentary debate on what they called the army's excessive use of force".

An article in The New York Times yesterday carried comparable reports of deliberate provocation and unnecessary shedding of Palestinian blood by Israeli forces. It reported that

"In addition to using live ammunition to quell the crowds, individual Israeli soldiers have reportedly committed acts in recent days that seem likely to breed more hatred in the Palestinian districts".

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Citing a specific incident, the Times went on to report that:

"A Palestinian teen-ager was tied to the hood of a ... jeep, apparently as a shield against rock throwing, and driven through a Palestinian district ...". (The New York Times, 16 December 1987, p. 10, c. 3)

This deliberate and systematic provocation of more violence and the unwarranted opening of fire by heavily armed troops to inflict death and injury is no doubt part of the wider scheme to drive away the Palestinians from the occupied territories in order to depopulate those territories and reinforce their annexation. We all heard the representative of Tel Aviv referring to the West Bank as Judaea-Samaria, and to the administrative, economic and other measures being taken to alter the demographic, social, religious and cultural features of the occupied territories, which he euphemistically referred to as "cosmetic measures" which his Government was determined to continue.

The Council has on several occasions reaffirmed the applicability of the fourth Geneva Convention relating to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem. Israel has repeatedly and deliberately ignored the rulings of this Council, and it continues to display total contempt for the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in territories under its occupation. We believe that this continuing arrogance on the part of the authorities in Tel Aviv calls for further and stronger action by the Security Council. It was in the light of this that the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, meeting on 15 December this year, issued a communiqué, which, inter alia, called upon the Council to dispatch a fact-finding mission to the occupied territories to investigate the situation and report to the Council as soon as possible. In the same communiqué the Bureau also

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renewed its call upon the Council to invoke Chapter VII of the Charter against Israel, with a view to enforcing immediate and total withdrawal and ending occupation.

It is clear that the conflict and violence in the Middle East will continue as long as occupation continues and as long as the Palestinians are denied the exercise of their inalienable rights in their homeland. The current tragic developments in the occupied territories underscore the urgent need to facilitate progress towards the convening of an International Peace Conference on the Middle East, as envisaged in General Assembly resolution 38/58 C. The Council has a primary responsibility to facilitate the setting in motion of the preparatory process for that Conference. However, we urge the Council to take effective steps along the lines mentioned in the communiqué, in order to restore stability in the region, pending the convening of the International Peace Conference, which would seek to find a just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Zimbabwe for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on whom I now call.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): Let me start by presenting a scenario. Five people show up, facing a demonstration of Palestinians protesting the brutalities of the occupying Power. Four of the five are dressed in army uniforms. The fifth is in plain clothes. He immediately draws a sub-machine-gun and opens direct fire on the demonstrators. Those uniformed persons are from the Israeli army. The fifth we do not know. But he appeared on the scene, opening fire on defenceless, unarmed civilians, a number of whom were felled, either killed or wounded. That is the picture of what is going on.

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Since the Security Council began considering the matter the debate has become longer and longer each day. Is it for the love of making long statements or speeches that we are here? I assure you, Sir, that when we came here last Friday it was with the intention, the aspiration, the desire, that the Council should take immediate action to put an end to the brutalities of the occupying Power against defenceless civilians. We said then that we came in pursuance of an obligation arising from the fourth Geneva Convention, which makes it incumbent upon the parties to respect, or to ensure respect for, the provisions of that Convention. Tomorrow is another Friday. The number of people being killed and wounded is increasing.

The Security Council has a responsibility to confront the situation. That responsibility arises, first, from the Charter. We all know that the purpose of the Charter was to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The war is continuing in my country, in Palestine. It is a war in which there is no parity whatsoever between the fire-power of the occupation forces and the victims, the people under occupation; in which there is no parity whatsoever between the oppressor and the oppressed. One uses rocks and bottles, the other uses machine guns, artillery and possibly the air force. There is no parity whatsoever between those army troops and the civilians. Of course, there is never parity between the aggressor and the victim. But the victim will persevere and in time will develop such a power, albeit materially much less effective, that in the long run it will prove to be the winner.

As we said last Friday, we come here in conformity with the purposes of the United Nations. As we all know, the Security Council is entrusted with the obligation to act and to discharge its duties. Those duties are to maintain international peace and security or to prevent situations that might develop into a

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threat to international peace and security. The Council should take collective measures for the prevention of threats to peace, for their removal and so on.

Of course, the Security Council has been meeting; it has been discussing and considering ways and means of discharging its duties. While we are here discussing matters we have received a statement from our people in the occupied territories, specifically, from Gaza. I should like to read out part of that statement, as follows:

"The roots of the present upheaval in the occupied territories that has been so costly both in casualties and material loss at the hands of the occupation forces stems in our opinion from the contradiction and hostile confrontation that came into existence between the occupation and the Palestine inhabitants since June 1967.

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"The Palestinian people have declared their rejection and denunciation of occupation right from the start. In affirming their innate right to self-determination in an independent Palestinian State on Palestinian soil, they have resorted, as is the acknowledged right of all peoples under occupation, to all available means in resisting occupation. In their resolve to perpetuate occupation, the Israelis responded with very harsh and brutal conduct. Furthermore, they soon became involved in a wide-ranging programme to help Israeli entrenchment, on the one hand, and ultimately to alienate and uproot the local inhabitants, on the other. Such is the basic contradiction that has continued to exist since June 1967, and which has formed the background for all the episodes of unrest and violence."

That was part of a communiqué issued by our people under occupation in Gaza.

What we are dealing with is not what the Israelis would like to call unrest and disturbances; it is a case of civil disobedience; it is a case of mutiny against occupation. That is why we think it should receive much more attention.

A senior Israeli military source said he believed that the large number of Palestinians who were felled and wounded is the "carriage" - as he puts it - that pushes over the masses who demonstrate in the West Bank and Gaza. I really do not know what he meant by "carriage". But according to the news that we have, a victim killed by the Israeli forces usually has to be taken for burial. What the Israelis do is to take away the body; they do not permit his next of kin to bury him and give him the relevant and adequate rites either in a church or a mosque. Some of the participants in the burial or funeral are themselves shot at, and some of them get killed. I think that in his statement yesterday, my colleague mentioned the case of Najwa Hassan Al-Masri, who was bashed and killed. We have now received the news that this happened when she was returning from the funeral of another victim.

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I was reading through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is wonderful, but it lacks a main element. Of course those who drafted it never thought that the Israelis would be in power, these Zionists and fanatics. The right to burial is not mentioned. Do members know what that means? It means that people are just put into a hole or are taken away from their families in the dark of night, and put into graves when a curfew is in force, and whoever goes to the funeral is shot at. I think this should be reviewed and the right to burial mentioned.

If the PLO is accused - well, history will prove that nobody has been instigating the people; they themselves have responded.

Something very serious has been taking shape over the past 24 hours. All of a sudden, Sharon, that butcher of Sabra and Shatila, has decided to go and set up residence in the Old City of Jerusalem. Now, we know he is a Minister, a Cabinet member; he should be aware that this is illegal and confrontational. But there is something more to this. It is a provocation. Why on earth should a member of the Cabinet move to and live in a Muslim quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem? Was he not satisfied with whatever quarters he had occupied? Should he come to the Muslims and rub it in their teeth and in their noses and say, "Here I am, whether you like me or not"? Is that not a real provocation, or an invitation to more bloodshed? We are happy to learn that what Sharon does is not what the people of Israel want. What Sharon and his group do is an affront to human sensibilities; it is an invitation to violence.

The Government of Israel has been very keen on saying that the media have somehow been blowing out of proportion what is happening. But an Israeli paper, Yedioth Ahronoth, editorialized yesterday about this "ostrich" policy, writing,

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"What we see in the West Bank and Gaza comes because the population refuses to accept Israeli authority and the condition of our relations with the Arab world. ... The self-imposed distortion will not serve our [Israel's] security interests and will not bring us closer to settlement with our neighbours. Only the ostrich buries its head in the sand when things do not go in its favour".

Another paper, Ma'ariv, writes, under the headline "The Murder and its Results",

"The attempt to accuse the media outlets of stirring instincts through the relay of reports about what is happening is a desperate attempt to escape the truth, as though what is not carried by the media does not occur. The leaders of the State of Israel should surrender to the truth: we live in an open society, and it will be impossible to close the territories in an efficient way".

That is what Ma'ariv, an Israeli newspaper, wrote.

The news from Tel Aviv today quoted an Israeli army spokesman as saying that "Demonstrations and protests continued yesterday, December 16, in various parts of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. These demonstrations in Gaza will not cool down, but in the West Bank they will continue in flames".

Another newspaper, Ha-aretz, referred to the infant, less than two days old, who sustained heavy injury from tear-gas bombs used by the Israeli army. Again, that is from an Israeli newspaper. And Davar, another Israeli paper, said in its editorial today that

"The negative reaction from around the world about what is going on in the territories will continue even if the Israeli Government closes the areas to the media".

The area is indeed closed to the media, and we are being sort of made aware of that.

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I do not want to go into the situation in Israel itself, when the so-called Minister of Defence is enjoying life in Washington, D.C., and the Foreign Minister is having a nice time, possibly in Brazil. But addressing the Brookings Institution yesterday, Rabin said there was no parallel between what was happening in the occupied territories and South Africa. Of course not: in South Africa there is total negation of the human rights of the South African blacks. In the occupied territories there is brutality and violation of Conventions. Israel is an occupying Power. So there is, of course, no parallel. But in their criminality and brutality they go hand in hand.

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But this morning, Anthony Lewis had a much clearer idea than Mr. Rabin had, when he wrote in The New York Times:

"... Ezer Weizman, put the truth bluntly in speaking about the Gaza disturbances. 'Whoever thinks this is a passing thing is making a very serious mistake,' Mr. Weizman said. 'It is a result of the failure to find a political solution, and the lack of a desire even to look for one.'"

This statement is attributed to a Cabinet member - "the lack of a desire even to look for" a political solution. We come here and listen to some talk about negotiations when a Cabinet member says that there is a lack of a desire even to look for a political solution and the Secretary-General has told us in his report that a major obstacle was this lack of a political will to reach a negotiated settlement. But we are all wrong, including the Secretary-General; the representative who spoke earlier is right. Of course, the whole world is wrong. This was shown this afternoon when 145 Member States supported a request that the Secretary-General should defend the Headquarters Agreement and Israel pushed the red button, indicating "do not defend it, Mr. Secretary-General, we are happy with it." I am sorry, but things are somehow connected.

Now again the media in the United States have come out with some interesting articles. I shall quote from an editorial in the San Jose Mercury News of this morning. It states:

"The scenes of young Palestinians being bloodied and killed as they hurl rocks at the Israeli army in the occupied Arab land of Gaza inspire the deepest sense of revulsion. When will Israel go home and leave these poor people alone?"

That is a cry coming from the American people. But again, I think the writer does not know where Israel considers its home to be. The editorial refers to something very serious. It asks Israel what self interest is proven by having Bernard Mills,

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who directs the United Nations field office in Gaza, explain to reporters how Israeli soldiers tied one teenager to the hood of an army jeep on patrol as protection against the rock throwers. That is barbarism. That is what the San Jose Mercury News says and that is what Bernard Mills apparently says. The paper continues:

"The United Nations policy has been clear for two decades. Israel must leave the occupied territories."

The situation continues to worsen. We do know that in Jerusalem today, outside the Damascus Gate, Israeli police dispersed a student demonstration, as well as in Nablus, Jericho, Hebron and Gaza. And something of real significance has taken place. Yesterday in Jerusalem, in front of Shamir's residence, which he had chosen to spite the Arabs and to provoke further bloodshed, a number of Arab and Jewish university students participated in a demonstration against him. They carried posters with slogans protesting the recent events in the occupied territories. Of course, the police came, arrested a number of them and fired tear gas canisters. That is what Radio Israel reported. So the violence of the occupying Power continues.

What is requested of this Council? The Council is duty bound to seek ways and means to provide for the protection of those people. That is an occupied territory, which has been mentioned several times this afternoon and at earlier meetings. There is an occupying Power and the Security Council is duty bound to provide for the safety and protection of the civilians in the territories under occupation. If it cannot do so, then the Security Council is duty bound at least to request most probably the Secretary-General to report immediately and daily on such violations. The Secretary-General may choose to send a special envoy to the territory or use other resources. We have, of course, full confidence in his

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ability to handle the situation. But the Security Council should demand that a daily report be provided on these violations of human rights and of the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention so that the world would know. Such events should not be kept under the table.

We have just heard the statement that an informal draft resolution is being circulated. I have not received a copy of it, but of course I know what it is. Apparently observers do not receive a copy of the text in blue print, but somehow we get it. Now, the Israeli representative spoke about the peace process and that what this draft calls for would impede that process. Paragraph 5 stresses the urgent need to reach a just, durable and peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict under the auspices of the United Nations. Is such a request from the Security Council, or at least an opinion of the Security Council, an impediment to peace? I really do not understand that logic. Then why do people come here? Why do we have a Security Council? If such an opinion is an impediment to peace, then what is a positive action on behalf of peace? We are told about resolution 242 (1967) and resolution 338 (1973).

I have resolution 242 (1967) before me, and it states:

"Affirms that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:"

It should include these two principles, but there are other principles in the Charter which those who drafted resolution 242 (1967) did not think of at the time. It states:

"Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;"

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It is very well defined: the "recent conflict" refers to the June 1967 conflict, so the area is very clearly defined and there is no need for any more articles. It does not matter whether it says from the territories or from all the territories, but it refers to the territories in the recent conflict, so we know where they are. Secondly, it states:

"Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;".

That is beautifully stated, but how can anyone guarantee the security of a State if we do not know what its boundaries are? It states very specifically "recognized boundaries". Would somebody tell us here that the security of Israel should be within the following boundaries? The only boundaries of which the United Nations knows were those designed in 1947 in resolution 181 (II). We know of no other boundaries that are recognized. Israel itself does not recognize its boundaries. One can write two or three volumes of different opinions about where the boundaries of Israel should be. Most recently we have heard some of them saying that the hills on the East Bank of the river Jordan are the first line of defence. If the hills on the East Bank of the river Jordan are the first line of defence, then goodbye Amman and goodbye As-Salt, because that is what it includes. Or let us be even more realistic. According to the Likud Party, if we look at the map of Israel which appeared in its political platform for election, it definitely has both banks of the river Jordan as part of Israel.

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So, does the Security Council, which adopted resolution 242 (1967), want us to guarantee Israel's security on the East Bank of the Jordan River? Just tell us where those boundaries are.

Let us look further at this draft resolution. It speaks of two principles, but it has completely omitted the first principle which, according to Article 1 (2) of the Charter, is:

"To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples..."

Where is the element of self-determination of the Palestinian people? It is not in resolution 242 (1967); consequently that resolution cannot be the basis. In that connection, I recall a wonderful statement made by the representative of the United States in 1978 in the plenary Assembly when he very distinctly and clearly said that resolution 242 (1967) did not address the political dimension of the Palestinian problem.

If the concepts and policies of the United States change from day to day I am not aware of that. I know there is continuity in the United States. Has it changed its position? Does resolution 242 (1967) address the political dimension of the question of Palestine? I am afraid not. It has not changed its opinion. So why stick to resolution 242 (1967)? On its own, resolution 242 (1967) is wonderful, but it does not address the question.

Again, why be selective? The Security Council has adopted a number of resolutions: 446 (1979), 465 (1980), and 468 (1980). Why not have all those resolutions adopted by the Security Council - along with others by the General Assembly - to be the basis for these negotiations? Restricting it only to resolution 242 (1967) - because resolution 338 (1973) is a mechanism for

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resolution 242 (1967) - is a discriminatory policy. We either accept the resolutions of the Security Council or we do not. If we do, we take them as a whole; if we do not, then do not use resolution 242 (1967) as just one element. Moreover, 20 years have passed since the adoption of resolution 242 (1967).

Who, in the first instance, rejected resolution 242 (1967)? Those who are sitting there with their troops, with their civilian population transferred there, and those who finance Israel - and I mean the Government of the United States - to violate resolution 242 (1967) and to forget all about it. It is thanks to the money that comes from the United States that Israel is settling in the occupied Palestinian territories.

That brings me to another point that has been raised. The representative of Israel has said that it does not recognize formally the application of the fourth Geneva Convention to those territories. That is really perplexing. Then what sort of territories are they? If they are an integral part of the "sovereign State of Israel", then why not say that? If they are not, what are they? Since this Council has on several occasions decided that they are occupied territories protected by that Convention, then let us take it from there.

Israel is not carrying out its obligations under the fourth Geneva Convention. Israel is transferring its civilian population into the occupied territories - and that is a violation of the fourth Geneva Convention, which makes it very clear that the occupying Power is prohibited from transferring any or part of its civilian population to the occupied territories.

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That gives us two answers. They are there illegally and, if they are not civilians, then they are part of the security forces and no longer civilians; and, as part of Israel's security in the occupied territories, the resistance is justified and has the legitimate right to eliminate the security forces of a foreign Power. After all, we all know what the job of a resistance is, what its duty is - to eliminate the occupation. So, if they are civilians they should not be there. Since they are not civilians, then they are part of the military troops.

Somebody has objected to the absence of a request that someone should exercise restraint. I wonder, how could the poor people who have been killed by an Israeli checkpoint exercise restraint? They are already dead. How could the woman whose head was bashed in exercise restraint? She has been killed. Only those who carry machine-guns, army trucks, steel helmets and gas canisters have to exercise restraint. Nobody can ask a little boy of 13 or 14 who is demonstrating and protesting the brutality against his mother or father to exercise restraint. We are human beings, and human beings react, not in a stoic or philosophic way; they react as humans.

We are told that the only way is by negotiations. After all, what has His Excellency the Secretary-General been doing since 1983? He has been trying to put us, all of us, on the path of negotiations. What is the obstacle? He tells us that a major obstacle is Israel. And, unashamedly, it is the representative of Israel who tells us we should proceed to the negotiating table. Are we really perplexed? I do not think so, because a member of the Israeli Cabinet, Ezer Weizman, has said that it is the result of the failure to find a political solution, and the lack of a desire even to look for one.

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To sum up: our people under occupation expect this Council, in addition to expressions of condemnation, deploration, inhumanity, to protect their human rights, their political rights, and their right to live in peace, until such time as a solution is found. We all talk about that solution - the total withdrawal of Israel. But until such time, the Council is in duty bound to find a way, a system - and the Secretary-General will, I am sure, be accommodating in helping to think on our behalf of the best way to provide protection and safety.

We know that, some time back when this Council in implementation of its resolution 446 (1979) created a Commission, Israel denied it entry into the country. But that Commission did an excellent job, even without entering the country. We know that a General Assembly Committee reports on violations and so on in those territories. What is expected of this body is action-oriented resolutions whereby our people are guaranteed, at least legally by order of this Council, some way of safety and protection. They are not and will not be satisfied with mere condemnation.

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Condemnation means nothing. Lives are being lost, children are being killed and blood is being spilled there. So when will the time come that the Council will assume its responsibility, as the Charter says:

"To save succeeding generations" - this generation, the Palestinian generation in the occupied territories - "from the scourge of war" - a real war that is going on?

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): Before adjourning today's meeting, I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the letter which was distributed an hour ago from the Chairman of the African Group at the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council which expresses the wish that certain steps be taken by the President. In that connection, in accordance with existing practice, I invite the members of the Council to meet tomorrow at 3.30 p.m. for consultations to discuss the question which has been raised by the Chairman of the African Group. After we conclude our consultations we shall return to the Council Chamber to resume discussion of the question regarding the situation in the occupied Arab territories.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.